The People's Korea

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Mr. Kim Found Guilty: Life Imprisonment Imposed As Reagan Will Kiss Chon

The south Korean supreme court on Jan. 23 upheld the death sentence passed on Mr. Kim Dae Jung by military courts but one our later the strongman Chon commuted it to life imprisonment. After all, the south Korean democratic leader, found guilty of all the alleged charges, must remain in prison for life to rust, no hope remaining of recovery of democracy.

The supreme court ruled that there was no ground for the appeal of Mr. Kim Dae Jung and his co-defendants and found them guilty of violations of the Anti-Communist Law and the National Security Law.

The verdict and the commutation are in stark violation of the so-called south Korean-Japanese political settlements as Tokyo's leading daily Asahi Shimbun pointed out.

A major question mark is about the reasons for the commutation.

Contrary to Gen. Chon's calculations, international criticisms of the death sentence of Mr. Kim Dae Jung have mounted to the point where West Germany and other West European countries have had to threaten to stop economic cooperation and assistance to south Korea.

Economic assistance from these countries are important. The Kim trial has invited so harsh domestic outcries in the United States and Japan that their governments have found difficulty sending open support to Seoul. In particular, assistance from Washington and Tokyo is indispensable for baling Seoul out of the present worst economic recession in two decades.

The commutation of the death sentence to life imprisonment serves the purpose, placing the lid on international protests and ending the political life of Mr. Kim Dae Jung who will never be out of prison for a democratic campaign.

To this end, there must be available a "reasonable" pretext for the commutation. Without it, the Chon junta would lose face and give the impression that it was weak-kneed diplomatically.

Submission of "a petition" from Mr. Kim Dae Jung would eliminate such problem and smooth out the situation. Then, the Chon junta could claim "clemency" for those who repent on the grounds of humanitarian considerations and justify the commutation without loss of face.

To be precise, real clemency must be shown in the unconditional release of Mr. Kim Dae Jung and other codefendants and the restoration of democracy, the thing which the Chon junta can not afford to do.

As Mrs Kim Dae Jung disclosed on Jan. 24, her husband was forced by the Chon junta to sign a fabricated petition for the sake of his codefendants on condition that the document would be kept secret.

With this forged petition on hand, the Chon junta announced that the commutation to life imprisonment had been approved in light of his "repentance" and resolve not to engage in political activity in future and in view of strong international pleas for "humanitarian considerations."

Family members of defendants of the Kim Dae Jung case leave the compound of the supreme court after it upheld Kim's death sentence.

The junta spokesman cited its principle "magnanimously" of treating those who repent. If this were the case, Mr. Kim must be released since he has "repented" of his past conduct and "pledged not to engage in political activity." No need for his detention exists.

Immediately after the announcement of the commutation to life imprisonment, both Washington and Tokyo moved to express applause for the step and renewed their support for Seoul.

Nevertheless, the Kim Dae Jung case is far from over. He remains yet to be released and rehabilitated. His charges are "far-fetched" and groundless. It has been clear from the beginning that the trial is a political witch hunt.

Democracy is the first casualty of the Reagan-Chon conspiracy. Reunification is again out of sight. The south Korean people are never willing to live with the death of democracy and the division of Korea. They will eventually rise in anti-Chon and anti-American outbursts.

Reaction: It's Trick

The London-based Socialist International whose chairman is former West German Chancellor Brandt, leader of the Socialist Democratic Party, issued on Jan. 24 a statement calling for the freedom of Mr. Kim Dae Jung.

The statement said that he must be released.

Mr. Georges Marchais, the general secretary of the French Communist Party stressed the need to stage a save-Kim campaign on a higher stage as he is still in jail.

The French Socialist Party called for more vigorous efforts to set him free while touching upon the fact that international pressure saved Mr. Kim's life.

Senator Edward Kennedy welcomed the reprieve and the reduction in sentences of Mr. Kim's co-defendants but never forgot to add, "I hope that the Korean 'government' will soon consider releasing Mr. Kim Dae Jung and his codefendants from imprisonment and permitting them to rejoin their families. I remain committed to continuing my efforts toward this end."

In London, the human rights group Amnesty International released a statement appealing to Chon Du Hwan for the immediate and unconditional release of opposition leader Kim Dae Jung and other codefendants.

In the statement issued after Chon commuted the death sentence on Mr. Kim to life imprisonment, the international human rights organization described him as a prisoner of conscience, who has repeatedly been punished for nonviolent opposition to "government" policies.

Mr. Kim's trial by a military court last September manifestly failed to meet internationally recognized standards of fairness, Amnesty International said. Mr. Kim and his 23 co-defendants were denied the opportunity to present a proper defence. Defendants said they were threatened, ill-treated and, in at least one case, beaten while held incommunicado before the trial.

Kim Dae Jung has been subjected to house arrest, exile and imprisonment for expressing his opinions and advocating reforms, an Amnesty International spokesman said. "His imprisonment is an affront to standards of law and rights accepted by most nations," the spokesman said.

Mr. Kim was accused of founding an "anti-state organization" and instigating students disturbances. It has still not been disclosed on which charge he was sentenced to death.

"Mr. Kim Dae Jung and other codefendants are guiltless," declared south Korean religionist Ham Sok Hon in his talk with a reporter of the Japanese leading daily Asahi Shimbun through the international telephone on the evening of Jan. 23.

"Mr. Kim Dae Jung and others had done nothing blamable at all. They must be declared not guilty," he said.

Noting that three other people had been sentenced to death by the military court in Kwangju, he stressed: "This is also a grave thing." He hoped that international concern should be shown not only for Mr. Kim Dae Jung but also for other political prisoners whose lives were facing danger.

The Weekend Australian in its Jan. 24-25 issue wrote:

"In commuting Kim Dae Jung's sentence, the Seoul government avoided diplomatic and trade sanctions from many Western powers."

The Tiines on Jan. 24 said:

"It (the commutation action) was designed to erase foreign criticism of Mr. Chun's civil rights record and show him to the Korean electorate as a man of mercy without causing him to lose face by appearing to yield to foreign pressure."

Chon's U.S. Visit

When our readers are reading this analysis, President Reagan is kissing south Korean strongman Chon Du Hwan blessing as his godfather, while Mr. Kim Dae Jung and other democratic leaders are condemned to life imprisonment and other heavy penalities on the ruins of democracy, with a 170,000-man American-south Korean joint war game "Team Spirit '81" being staged throughout that part of Korea.

The speed with which Gen. Chon was invited to Washington indicates the importance Reagan and American policy planners attach to his role in keeping south Korea from becoming democratic and leaving it available for American geopolitical needs.

Otherwise, it is extremely difficult to understand why Reagan is meeting with the south Korean dictator as his first state guest, not Japanese Premier Suzuki or West European leaders.

Full Endorsement of Chon As Local Client

With the south Korean population pitted against him, Gen. Chon must win international recognition of his authenticity as replacement for the late Pak Jung Hi and at least American recognition. Full American support for him would help him secure in power for the time being.

His rise to power is widely known as illegal, first through a coup against his senior officers in the army, secondly by mass arrests of democratic leaders and other political opponents under martial law, thirdly as a result of his nomination for "president" by the rubber-stamp electoral college under the old "Yusin Constitution" and finally through the Feb. 25 "presidential elections" under the new "Yusin Constitution."

So far, no Western leader has announced an official recognition of Chon. As a matter of fact, the Kwangju Massacre and the Kim Dae Jung trial have made it prohibitive for them to give open nod to the south dictator.

With the new era theme shared by Reagan and the south Korean client, a sign of "clemency" for Mr. Kim Dae Jung has eliminated this inhibition. Gen. Chon's announced candidacy in the planned "presidential elections" is still subject to suspicion about his qualifications because of his role in the death of democracy. In order to consolidate his candidacy as valid and demonstrate American approval, Chon must meet with Reagan. The so-called summit with the American president would prove a great publicity stunt for him.

His early offer for "mutual visits of north and south Korean chiefs" was partly intended to portray Gen. Chon as concerned about the south Korean aspirations for peaceful reunification and rationalize his seizure of power, thereby attempting to boost his pre-election popularity. Given these facts, Gen. Chon is in urgent need of justifications for his rise to power with "elections" slated for the chief executive and the legislature.

Demonstration of American Resolve to Maintain Control over S. Korea

Another clear objective of the Feb. 2 meeting between Reagan and his south Korean client is to demonstrate to the south Korean democratic forces and the DPRK the resolve of the new American Government to oppose further reduction of American military presence in south Korea: no to south Korea in "unfriendly hands" or "even in disputed hands", namely, objection to the restoration of democracy in south Korea, and no to any move toward the ultimate peaceful reunification of north and south Korea.

For the United States to remain a Pacific and Asian power and restore American power and credibility, south Korea must remain available to the Americans as the sole continental forward base. With Reagan committed to "strong America," south Korea figures tremendously for American global strategy.

American policy-planners are convinced that Japan can be kept under American influence only when south Korea remains dependent on the U.S. politically, economically and militarily. The loss of south Korea would "highly unsettling" for Japan as it is "a dagger pointed at the heart" of Tokyo.

In this context, the Reagan-Chon meeting can be seen as part of the "two-Korea" policy followed by the Americans. Gen. Chon is a most enthusiastic agent of this policy.

In other words, the Americans are willing to remain supportive of Gen. Chon, as long as he is loyal to the American policy needs, no matter how he destroys democratic order and massacre fellow Koreans. For the Americans south Korean democracy is no consideration. A Korean reunification is anathema for Washington and Tokyo. What the latest Reagan-Chon talks amount to is that the south Korean democratic forces must stop trying to restore democracy and that the northern people must give up any hope of reunification with the southern people.

In case any local challenge arises to the American "two-Korea" policy, the Americans are ready to use military force, including nuclear weapons, with Gen. Chon ordered into action. The "Team Spirit '81" is a display of this American willingness. It is also blackmailing the south Korean people to take the state of south Korea for granted and not to criticize Gen. Chon.

MR. KIM, OTHERS LAUNCH HUNGER STRIKE

According to a report from Seoul, Mr. Kim Dae Jung and his 11 democrats went on hunger struggle immediately after the Chon junta commuted sentences.

It is said that they called for their unconditional release and denounced the authorities' human rights violations.

(Continued on page 3)

Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo

MEANING AS PAX KOREANA:

--Full exercise of the right of the Korean people to national self-determination

--Reassertion of Korean sovereignty and reprevalence of Korean values throughout the Korean Peninsula from the northernmost mountain of Paekdu to the southernmost mountain of Halla;

--Complete of freedom for the Koreans of travelling or moving to and residing any place of their choice, north and south, and taking any job of their choice and qualifications and embracing any political or religious faith they like without fear of repression;

--A long-awaited removal of one of the most dangerous potential source of global thermonuclear war and contribution to the peace and security of Northeast Asia.

ADVANTAGES FOR THE KOREANS OVERSEAS:

--For the first time, their status, political, legal and cultural, becomes clear and is entitled to protection from a reunified Korean government as its nationals and the governments of the countries where they reside are inescapably obliged to protect them as such under international law;

--The best opportunity is avaiable for their unity as the same Koreans because the cause of their division is gone for ever;

--No more punishment of their past anti-government activities or their families left in the south;

--They are welcome home to a reunified Korea, to any part of the Land of Morning Calm, any time, regardless of their political affiliation or belief or religious faith;

--They are in a position to send their representatives to the Confederal Government to speak for their will and interests.

ADVANTAGES TO THE SOUTH KOREANS:

--No fear of nationalization of their private businesses;

--Continuing private ownership;

--No change in commercial relations with foreign countries;

--Full guarantee of democratic freedoms and rights, including freedom of speech, the press, religion, demonstration, and assembly;

--Freedom of having correspondence with their families and relatives in the north and abroad, of travelling to the north and abroad and of inviting them to the south;

--Drastic reduction of military spending and its diversion for economic and welfare purposes;

--Smaller taxes and no need for compulsory military training for militia purposes.

ADVANTAGES TO THE NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES:

--No prospect of south Koreans fleeing by ship or plane or by land to their borders;

--No fear of the so-called export of revolution to them;

--Continuing protection of their economic concessions and investments in south Korea;

--Continuing economic relations with S. Korea;

--No fear of any other country using Korea for hostility to any of them;

--No more threat of renewal of conflicts in Korea which will spill into them.

Goals of Socialist Economic Construction (1)

In his report to the Sixth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea, President Kim Il Sung put forward the basic tasks and ten long-range goals of socialist economic construction in the 1980's. The People's Korea will publish a series of articles on the ten long-range goals of socialist economic construction. Here is the first of the series on the outline of the ten long-range goals.

President Kim Il Sung had this to say:

"The basic tasks of socialist economic construction in the 1980's are to build solid material and technical foundations congenial to a completely victorious socialist society and radically raise the people's material and cultural standards."

The basic tasks of socialist economic construction in the 1980's proceed from the level of economic development of the DPRK which has already reached a high stage and from the law-governed demand of socialist and communist construction.

If these tasks are carried out successfully, a new great change will surely be brought in the building of the socialist economy. Production will be increased at a high rate in all fields of the national economy so that within the coming ten years, the country's annual output will attain the following figures: 100,000 million kwh of electricity, 120 million tons of coal, 15 million tons of steel, 1.5 million tons of non-ferrous metals, 20 million tons of cement, 7 million tons of chemical fertilizers, 1,500 million metres of fabrics, 5 million tons of aquatic products, and 15 million tons of grain and 300,000 chongbo of reclaimed tideland.

These are the ten long-range goals of socialist economic construction which must be attained in the 1980's.

The new long-range goals represent a blueprint of development and prosperity unprecedented in the long history of the fatherland and a great stride to make the country a more developed economic power in the world.

If these goals are attained, the total annual industrial output at the end of the 1980's will be 3.1 times the present figure in value and 1,000 times as much as it was in 1946.

If the goals are attained, solid material and technical foundations congenial to a completely victorious socialist society will be built and the people's material and cultural standards will be raised to a very high level.

The new long-range goals will open a new avenue in the struggle to increase the might of the DPRK in every way and accelerate national reunification. If they are materialized, the DPRK will be turned into a people's paradise better to live in and the superiority of the socialist system will be more powerfully demonstrated.

The long-range goals of socialist economic construction for the 1980's are magnificent and grandiose ones which are beyond imagination for ordinary minds. But the DPRK has all conditions for and possibilities of attaining these high goals.

Today, the DPRK has an independent national economy with tremendous potentialities, rich natural wealth and unlimited scientific and technological resources.

100,000 Mil. Kwh Target of Power Production

In order to successfully attain the new long-range goals of socialist economic construction, great efforts should be made for the development of the power industry.

Electricity is the basic source of power for production in the DPRK. Only when the output of electric power is increased quickly, can production be normalized in every field of the national economy and the great demand for power in the new long-range period be satisfied.

The DPRK has all weather conditions and rich natural wealth necessary for hitting the 100,000 million kwh target of power production.

The DPRK is, first of all, abundant in hydro-power and tidal-power resources.

Along with hydroelectric power stations, many thermal power plants will be built in spite of cold waves which may prevents hydro-power stations from operating at full capacity, in order to satisfy the great demand for power in every field of the national economy.

The DPRK is rich in natural resources necessary for congenial to thermal power stations--coal deposits are inexhaustible.

In order to hit the 100,000 million kwh target of power production, all-out efforts should be made to develop and use new power resources.

There is a bright prospect in the DPRK for the development of atomic and solar energy. The DPRK plans to build many atomic power plants and other new power ones in order to augment power output substantially.

(To be continued)

The DPRK's main power stations had been hydraulic ones until 1955 as it has many rivers and steep mountains, but has little oil. However, by 1979, coal-driven thermal power stations increased and their capacity accounts for about 50 percent of the total power production. The country has abundant coal deposits.

Photo shows a part of the Pukchang Thermal Power Plant in S. Pyongan Province.

World Public: Kim Dae Jung Case Is Far From Over

"The trial of south Korean democrat Kim Dae Jung was over, but the case is far from over because he is still in jail and must remain so for life." The world public call for a larger-scale movement for his immediate freedom. Their determination is clearly seen in the statements published by the following personages and international organizations.

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Follows a gist of the letter sent by William Wilson, Member of Parliament, Coventry South East, England to the Ambassador of the south Korean embassy in U.S. on August 20, 1980:

Your Excellency,

I am writing to you about the case of Kim Dae Jung who is to appear before a military tribunal in South Korea under the attempted sedition law. As you know Kim Dae Jung is an ex-presidential candidate.

Kim Dae Jung was imprisoned under the regime of Pak Jung Hi and was already in custody before the uprising in Kwangju took place.

I urge you to make representations to your Government about this case and to let them know there are many people in Britain who would look upon any harm which comes to Kim Dae Jung as a flagrant breach of human rights.

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Dr. Rodger K. Scott of San Francisco sent a letter to ex-U.S. President Carter urging the U.S. to take any step for the freedom of Kim Dae Jung. Follows a gist of the letter sent on Aug. 18, 1980:

Dear President Carter:

The trial of Mr. Kim Dae Jung is an affront to peoples throughout the world who are concerned with the most basic human rights. Kim Dae Jung may be convicted of charges which have no basis in fact; he also has virtually no chance of having a fair trial before the military tribunal, members of the which view him as a threat to the military dictatorship because he has had the courage to criticize the genocide and brutal suppression by the junta.

A person doesn't have to be very well informed to know that the United States can exert humanitarian pressure on the military dictatorship that could save Kim Dae Jung's life. I am philosophically against intervention in the domestic affairs of other countries; however, this country has tremendous potential to influence the actions of the junta toward democratic dissidents by withholding economic and military aid and by withdrawing U.S. forces. Mr. Carter, you have expressed concern for human rights on numerous occasions; here is an excellent opportunity for you to demonstrate your concern in a tangible way to save the life of one of Korea's most important political leaders.

I sincerely hope you will use the power of your office to save the life and preserve the freedom of this courageous and democratic leader—and the hundreds or thousands of others like him who are not as well known and whose cases are not such dramatic examples of the classical struggle between human rights and the brutal suppression of those rights.

Please inform me what steps you, Mr. Muskie, and others in the State Department are taking to insure that the military dictatorship does not further brutalize or even murder Kim Dae Jung. American arms, economic aid, and other forms of support have helped to create the power base from which the junta is killing, imprisoning, and torturing Koreans who dare to challenge the junta's totalitarian acts, and, consequently, it is our responsibility to try to stop the tyranny and bloodshed.

For the sake of human rights, I hope you have the moral courage and the strategic understanding to act quickly and decisively.

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The South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) of Namibia issued an appeal to save the life of Kim Dae Jung on Sep. 17, 1980.

Follows a full text of the appeal.

On behalf of SWAPO study group in East Africa, and indeed on behalf of our mighty organization the South West Africa People's Organization SWAPO of Namibia on the immortal works of President Kim Il Sung, we would like to join those who have already protested against the regretable decision taken up by the Chon Du Hwan junta to give a death sentence to ex-presidential candidate Kim Dae Jung.

This is a desperate decision taken up by the south Korean authority led by the Chon Du Hwan military junta. We Namibians under the leadership of SWAPO particularly we of SWAPO study group of the immortal works of President Kim Il Sung demand the termination and unconditional release of Kim Dae Jung.

It is our considered opinion that Kim Dae Jung did not commit any offence except he opposed to a military dictatorship and demanded only democracy like other citizens of Kwangju, therefore, he is innocent and deserved unconditional release. We appeal to the international community to put severe pressure on the Chon Du Hwan military junta in order the life of Kim Dae Jung can be saved and immediately terminate the charge against him. The fact is that, Kim Dae Jung did not manipulate the Kwangju incident behind the scene as the fascist dictator regime of south Korea has charged, but the democratic seeking people of Kwangju, south Korea as whole want democracy to prevail in that part of Korea. They are opposed to the Chon Du Hwan brutal regime which usurped the presidency through the December 12 army purge coup and turned Korea into a barbarous bloodbath and hell on earth who also converted south Korea into a hazardous place.

We join all peaceloving nations, progressive organizations, national and international organizations the world over in protest to terminate the death sentence against Kim Dae Jung.

Viva progressive forces!

Down with Chon Du Hwan military junta!

Independence or death we shall win!

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Follows a gist of the declaration of solidarity issued by the publisher and many at authors and collaborators of "diput", the Australian monthly magazine.

The publishers and authors of the periodical "diput", a literary, political and philosophical edition, express solidarity with the desire of the Korean people for freedom, democracy and social justice.

We must condemn the repressive military dictatorship in South Korea, along with the support from the U.S.A.

We are astonished by the unbelievable brutality of the South Korea Army during the events at Kwangju. General Chon Too Hwan who ordered all these crimes is in our opinion not a civilized human being, but a barbarian. We are intended by the deceptive tactics of the military leadership, as well as of the president of South Korea, directed against the citizens and students. We protest against the creation of military junta con-

(Continued on page 5)

Hundreds of demonstrators parade through Tokyo carrying a portrait of Kim Dae Jung on December 12, 1980. (From the December, 1980 issue of The Asian Observer)

(Continued from page 1)

Reaction from Japan's opposition parties, trade union leaders, intellectuals and many Korean residents here were prompt and bitter. They immediatly denounced the decision as a tricky operation.

Japan Socialist Party chairman Asukata Ichio said life imprisonment still means political death for the south Korean Opposition leader.

He further said that the decision of the south Korean supreme court is a political artifice stepped up by the Chon Du Hwan junta to establish the military dictatorial system and stressed that the Japanese government which hushed up a probe into the truth of the Kim Dae Jung abduction case should be called to account for it.

"Though Mr. Kim Dae Jung was commuted to life imprisonment, the freedom of his political activity has not been restored," he said.

Therefore, he stated, with the backing of world public opinion we demand the unconditional release of Mr. Kim.

Japan's foremost daily The Asahi Shimbun called the verdict and the commutation to life imprisonment a clear violation of the Japan-south Korea political settlement.

The Japan Communist Party, in a statement published on Jan. 23, said that the commutation action by the Chon junta was the countermeasures that the Chon junta had to take in face of protests and denunciations in south Korea and abroad, but the penalty of life imprisonment itself is outrageous capital penalty. In the light of the barbarous situation of south Korean prisons, this is nothing less than an extremely tricky and astute atrocity aiming at eliminating the life of Mr. Kim Dae Jung, politically and physically.

The JCP urged the Japanese government to take a resolute attitude toward the south Korean authorities from the viewpoint of the responsibility of the government, which approved the abduction of Mr. Kim by "political settlement."

Leaders of the United Social Democratic Party and the New Liberal Club joined the JSP and JCP in charging that Chon's "clemency" stopped far short of restoring Mr. Kim's political freedom.

Many Korean residents and Japanese campaigning to save Kim Dae Jung expressed their relief at Seoul's action but renewed their pledge to continue their campaign to free Mr. Kim.

Members of Hanmintong, a group of Korean residents working for restoration of democracy and unification of north and south Korea, said that they had expected the decision and described it as a farce.

Hanmintong, in its statement, denounced Seoul's step as a full challenge to the public opinion of the world.

Its officials said no optimism was warranted as long as Mr. Kim remained in jail and avowed their campaign would continue unrelentingly for Kim's freedom and the restoration of his political life.

The General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (Sohyo) described the "clemency as burlesque, emphasizing it was staged five days before Chon's planned departure for Washington for a meeting with Reagan.

Sohyo, which has been active in the save-Kim movement in Japan, protested that the decisions of south Korea's top court and the Seoul "government" were a diffiance of freedom, human rights and democracy.

It demanded that the Chon junta release Mr. Kim immediately and that the Japanese government work for Mr. Kim's freedom.

Tanigawa Hachiro, president of the Japan Federation of Bar Associations, demanded in a statement that the Japanese government take measures to secure Mr. Kim's human rights.

Utsunomiya Tokuma, Mr. Kim's longtime friend and a senior member of the House of Councillors, said the commutation did not mean the end of the Kim Dae Jung affair and called for the continuation of the powerful campaign to save Mr. Kim.

He added, "I strongly urge freedom for Mr. Kim."

Labour unions in Japan conducted strikes for limited duration and staged rallies on Jan. 24 to demand an early release of Mr. Kim.

The All-Japan Harbor Workers' Union (Zenkowan), which boycotted handling of south Korean ships last December, held rallies for 10 minutes or more in the morning at 68 ports in the nation including Niigata and Osaka ports.

Members unions of the All-Japan Prefectural and Municipal Workers Union (Jichiro) staged a 10-minute strike from 9 a.m.

Earlier of Jan. 23, Korean residents, Japanese unionists, and libertarians staged protest demonstrations against south Korea's supreme court's upholding of Mr Kim's death sentence.

In a Tokyo church, people offered a morning prayer for Kim's release from jail. Japanese National Railways workers sounded whistles throughout Japan to demand the restoration of Mr. Kim's freedom.

Locomotive engineers, members of several railway labour unions, said that the whistle protest was carried out to express their support for Mr Kim

U.S.-Backed Chon Du Hwan against Democracy

The south Korean strongman cultivated his character as a traitor already over 20 years ago when he went to the United States two times in 1958 and 1960 for receiving training for special paratroops at the American military infantry school located in Kansas State.

The nature of Chon Du Hwan as dirty latent henchman of the United States began to manifest itself after the Pak Jung Hi shooting incident on October 26, 1979.

The American-trained strongman has held power behind Choe Gyu Ha since Dec. 12, 1979 when he carried out a coup to remove his senior Chong Sung Hwa with the active backing of the Washington government.

Later, last April 14, Chon Du Hwan grabbed the seat of ih director of the south Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) which could not be held by a soldier in active service, and expelled some 800 KCIA operatives and filled the vacancies with his confidants in the "security command" in less than a month.

This has rendered more acute the confrontation between democracy and fascism in south Korea.

Students and people turned on to streets and demanded democracy and cried for the resignation of Chon Du Hwan.

Upset by this, the south Korean strongman started with a brutal suppression of students demanding the repeal of the "yusin" system and democratization of society in all parts of south Korea and the struggle of the coal miners of Chongson district for vital rights through the mobilization of heavily armed riot police and martial law paratroopers.

Chon Du Hwan expanded on May 17 martial law to cover the whole of south Korea, which liquidated political life of his foes two Kims, Kim Jong Pil, DRP President and ex-presidential candidate Kim Dae Jung who came once close to defeating the slain strongman Pak Jung Hi in the 1971 presidential election.

Nearly 5 hours after the expansion of martial law, mass arrests comprised twenty-six prominent political figures including Kim Dae Jung and Kim Jong Pil was carried out.

Chon Du Hwan indiscriminately slaughtered over 2,000 of demonstrators turning on to streets of Kwangju for repeal of the yusin constitution", resignation of Chon and democracy.

Chon Du Hwan issued a "special order", crying "Kill them! If you kill them, they will be quelled." "You may kill 70 per cent of the Kwangju citizens" and "Kill all who appear young!" and committed a shocking massacre by machinegunning, bayoneting and running tanks and armoured cars over demonstrators with the mobilization of tens of thousands of paratroopers and men of an armoured division of the martial law army.

In the massacre by the military hoodlums more than 2,000 citizens were killed, over 10,000 others were wounded and thousands of uprisers were arrested and imprisoned in the first ten days in one city of Kwangju.

The massacre in Kwangju was so shocking that the British and U.S. press described Kwangju as a "site of bloodbath" and "town of death where ghosts stalk."

The ferocity and high-handedness of Chon Du Hwan found most concentric manifestation in its plot to penalize Kim Dae Jung.

After illegally arresting Kim Dae Jung, Chon Du Hwan locked him up in a prison cell for nearly 50 days and savagely tortured and persecuted him till they opened an illegal trial of him at a military court on charges of "plot of rebellion" and "violation" of the "national security law," the "anti-communist law," "martial law decrees" and other evil laws.

The suppression by the south Korean strongman was stretched to officials and press men.

Chon Du Hwan was appointed on May 31 as chairman of the standing committee of the special committee for national security, a de facto junta, with Choe Gyu Ha reduced to a puppet.

The south Korean strongman, wresting the pivotal machines of power through intrigues and tyrannical arbitrariness and built the foothold of his dictatorship, ousted Choe Gyu Ha from the post of the president on August 16 under the name of "resignation" and usurped power in which he wrested the presidential seat on September 1 by setting in motion the "national conference for unification," a rubber-stamp electoral college.

To legalize it, he concocted a "new constitution," the second "yusin constitution" through a forcible "referendum" on October 22 after proclaiming "emergency alert order A" on top of "emergency martial law."

Then he framed up the "legislative council for national security" and trumped up all kinds of evil laws to fix the second "yusin system" by law.

In December last alone, over 100 fascist laws including the "law on special measures for the renovation of political climate," "plan for the reorganization of press structure," an "amendment to the law on assembly and demonstration," the "law on political party" and the "law on the election administration committee" were faked up in south Korea.

By these fascist laws, the political activities of 1,000 politicians are banned, political parties have changed into subsidized political parties praising the "yusin" system, press organs have been merged or closed to be reduced to waiting-maids of power, and all demonstrations and meetings have become "government"-sponsored in south Korea.

Chon Du Hwan is bent on reviving the "yusin" system, not a new democratic policy, and establishing a military rule in south Korea.

A bloody dead body of a student slain by army paratroopers in Kwangju incident

A soldier beating an unresistant demonstrator

Chon paratroopers manhandled demonstrators, ropes tied around their hands and necks

Her father soothes a daughter crying down on the coffin of the slain brother

Disguising Tactics of Washington, Tokyo

Washington's and Tokyo's handlings of the Kim Dae Jung affair made foreign observers here suspect that Seoul's two major allies were behind the whole development in south Korea.

The U.S. and the Japanese governments, both preoccupied with their vital interests in south Korea – strategical and economic stakes – had refused to take any concrete measures to save the life of south Korean democratic champion Kim Dae Jung under various pretexts and stated their full support to the Chon Du Hwan junta.

Since Gen. Chon Du Hwan's takeover as new strongman, both the Americans and the Japanese did not try to help restore democracy in south Korea on the grounds that south Korea is an independent state and that they must refrain from any act which might be perceived as "intervention in her internal affairs."

Utilization of Successive Clients

Since the liberation of Korea, August 1945, the U.S. well aware that the biggest obstacle to its neo-colonialist control over south Korea was the Korean people's claim to the right of self-determination, utilized the successive dictators – Syngman Rhee, Pak Jung Hi, and Chon Du Hwan – traitors in essence, as their local clients and let them rule south Korea ostensibly as a state free from American influence. As a means of disguising their nature, they were to portray themselves as nationalists and democrats in a sort of thunderstealing.

For example, the Syngman Rhee regime was publicized as anti-Japanese nationalist. The "Syngman Rhee Line", a source of trouble in south Korea-Japan relations in the 1950's, was utilized to heighten the strong national sentiments toward Japan, divert public grievances against the Syngman Rhee dictatorship and justify it. On the other hand, the dispute was played up as an important factor in Japan's rearmament. In 1953, when the Ikeda-Robertson conference was held, responding to the latter's request on the augmentation of Japan's military forces, the then Japanese Prime Minister Ikeda said that in order to make its people understand the necessity of Japan's armaments it was the most effective way to let the Syngman Rhee regime occupy Dokto Island in the East Sea. (The "Washington-Tokyo Secret Conference" written by Japan's Chief Cabinet Secretary Miyazawa Kiichi)

The next strongman Pak Jung Hi, who proved himself in the Japanese Kwantung Army as an officer, also disguised himself as an ardent nationalist. Since the seizure of power, Pak Jung Hi advocated what he called "nationalistic democracy" despite the fact that he was responsible for the destruction of democratic order and constitutional government.

Both Pak and Chon adopted these methods:

- **military alliance**
- **treaties and agreements**
- **assistance, economic and military**
- **parliamentary democracy**
- **the separation of three powers**
- **constitutionalism**
- **the armed forces of a sovereign state**
- **an independent national economy**
- **the secret police**
- **trials of anti-government elements (general courts and court-martials)**
- **to use deceptive slogans**

Full-Fledged Support to Chon

By making free use of these methods, the U.S. and the Japanese governments helped the formation of the Chon junta from the beginning. After the last strongman's assassination of October, 1979, Washington had picked the then Maj. Gen. Chon Du Hwan, CIC commander and chief investigator of the Pak's shooting incident as Pak's successor to clear it of any complicity in the death of Pak Jung Hi, no longer helpful to its Asian policy. Then, the U.S. role became visible in establishing Gen. Chon as new strongman in his coup-like arrest of senior military officials including then martial law commander Chon Sung Hwa. As the American CIA endorsed Gen. Pak Jung Hi's May 16,1961 military coup, Washington led Gen. Chon Du Hwan to carry out the so-called army purge, allowing him, with the capital garrison troops at his disposal, paratroopers and the crack front-line forces which were under the control of the U.N. Command and the Korea-U.S. Combined Forces Command. Gen. Wickham, U.N. commander and commander of the CFC, prevented other south Korean generals from launching a counter-coup against Gen. Chon. He and the U.S. government defended Chon's action by saying that they had no leverage over the south Koreans because they were independent nationalists.

With the inauguration of the new client regime, the Washington and Tokyo authorities have more skillfully concealed their true concern – strategic and economic stakes in south Korea – and little interest in south Koreans' earnest demand for democracy and reintegration of the divided country.

Kim Case: Image of Seoul as Independent?

The most definite example of make believing that the south Korean chief executive is an independent national leader and Seoul is a sovereignty far from any foreign powers, was the handling by Washington and Tokyo of the controversial Kim Dae Jung case.

Amid the world-wide protests against the verdict by Seoul's court-martial sentencing Mr. Kim Dae Jung to death by hanging, the American and the Japanese had failed to take effective steps for his freedom, only expressing "grave concern" over the sentence. The reason cited by them was that any sanction would constitute "interference into domestic affairs of south Korea." Since the first verdict was passed by a court-martial in September, the high-ranking officials of the two countries asserted that too much emphasis on the possibility of any sanctions against south Korea for the release of Kim Dae Jung would boomerang because south Korea was an independent state on friendly relations with the two allies. This was clarified in former Prime Minister Fukuda's visit to south Korea at the end of September, 1980 and in the Seoul-engineered anti-Tokyo demonstrations in December. In a press conference held on Sep. 26 last year, on his return home, the former Japanese Prime Minister said that the government should wait and see what would happen to Mr. Kim Dae Jung because the matter was a south Korean "internal affair" and a problem for Seoul's judiciary to decide on. He stressed as if south Korea was an independent country with three powers of government completely separated. Meanwhile, through an anti-Japanese demonstrations in Seoul waged in protest against Japanese Prime Minister Suzuki's remark on a possible promotion of relations with Pyongyang, the Japanese authorities cast Chon Du Hwan for "a nationalist role free of any foreign interference," and thus spotlighted the sovereignty of south Korea.

The Kim Dae Jung case also made clear the method of the south Korean army.

The Western mass media including the Japanese newspapers were encouraged to report that the nationalist young generals urged Gen. Chon Du Hwan to kill Kim Dae Jung, saying that the existence of the former presidential candidate would do harm to the future political development in south Korea. One of the aims was to depict Chon Du Hwan as restraining those generals. Another aim was to allege that the highly nationalistic south Korean armed forces were not responsive to outside pressure. However, it is almost impossible for the south Korean military to act independently of Washington. They are legally under the command of the U.N. Forces (de facto U.S. forces) and the U.S.-Korea Combined Forces Command, both tightly under control of American generals.

The Kwangju Massacre last year gave a most clear-cut example of the visible U.S. role in supporting the Chon junta. Photo shows Kwangju citizens wounded in a makeshift hospital.

Photo shows a member of the Committee against Repression in the Pacific & Asia conducting a signature campaign for Kim's release. (From the December, 1980 issue of The Asian Observer)

The south Korean military are also armed and trained by the Americans. During thirty-two years from 1948 to 1980, a total of over $10 billion military aid was given to the successive south Korean rulers.

Other Examples

1. Parliamentary Dem.

Let's explain two or three examples.

The first is on "parliamentary democracy" and "Constitutionalism"

While declaring the expansion of martial law throughout the whole country on May 17, the martial law command on May 31 announced the disbandment of the legislature, mass arrests of lawmakers and the formation of a 25 member "Committee for Emergency Measures for National Security" composed of cabinet members, generals and a few others. The committee and another organization called "Legislative Council for National Security Measures" set up in November took over a law-making body. An amendment of the Constitution and establishment of new political parties were also carried out to pave a "multi-party parliamentary democracy." These new parties were formed by those loyal to Gen. Chon. Virtually no Opposition party exists. They are all ruling parties. The existing political parties were outlawed and their members were purged. The present south Korean Constitution does not reflect an overwhelming mandate of the south Korean people. It is a carbon copy of the "Yusin Constitution." Any anti-"government" demonstration or assembly is forbidden under over 100 new laws made by the "Legislation Council for National Security." In the words of the Asahi Shimbun dated on Jan. 25, south Korea and Gen. Chon remain "authoritarian." "The Chon regime is continuing with the face-lifting operation with an American-south Korean summit dated for Feb. 2. A fact of life is that an institution to replace martial law is already in place, with the present authoritarian regime left intact."

2. U.S.-Supported Massacre

The second example is the "large-scale massacre conducted by the military, police, and fascist organizations" which is Washington's routine practice used whenever its puppet regime is on the verge of collapse. The Kwangju Massacre last year was not the first instance of this method. In 1946, the U.S. army established the "Korean National Youth Corps," a terrorist youth organization with a great number of U.S.-trained Korean youths under the control of the Organization of Strategic Service of the U.S. The number of youths belonging to the corps was reportedly 1,500,000 until 1948, and later it had sent a large number of members to the south Korean army for the suppression of anti-"government" elements.

The Kwangju Massacre last year gave the most clear-cut example of the visible U.S. role in instigating the massacre.

In May when around 10,000 students and citizens in Kwangju, capital of S. Cholla Prov., rose in a massive anti-"government" struggle demanding the repeal of martial law, Washington had Gen. Wickham release south Korean local forces from its operational control to suppress the uprising and left around 2,000-3,000 people dead and over 10,000 injured, including infants and elderly persons. During the uprising, the U.S.-owned military trucks blocked the entrance of the city and Chon Du Hwan-led army paratroopers shot at the Kwangju citizens. On May 30 Chon Du Hwan said in a press conference that Gleysteen, U.S. Ambassador to Seoul, instigated the suppression of paratroopers saying that it was necessary to maintain social security in south Korea.

3. Ind. Nat'l Economy

The third instance is "an independent national economy."

Despite the slogans to construct an independent national economy, south Korea's economy is in its worst recession in more than two decades. Following figures clearly indicate what the floundering economy will bring about in spite of vast amount of economic aid from the U.S. and Japan: the total foreign debts will reach about over $30 billion by the end of last year; wholesale prices are forecasted increasingly by between 40-43 percent last year; major business groups including the Whasin Group, one of south Korea's oldest companies, are encountering serious financial difficulties and are on the verge of financial collapse; and about 2 million tons of rice will have to be imported from foreign countries next year because of an acute shortage of foodstuff.

(Continued from page 3)

trolled by generals Chon Too Hwan and his collaborators!

For years the Korean people has been living the tragedy of the division, of the existing repression, and of the exploitation by internal and external interests. The Korean people is a typical sacrifice of the power politics of the superpowers. These power politics have destroyed the freedom and unity of Korea. Under the pretences of communist agitation, all types of opposing activities have been and still are pursued in South Korea.

Much of the mass-media in Europe, Austrian included, has recognised and designat.. and the heroic insurrection of the inhabidence and students of Kwangju as a symbolic act of the previously mentioned desire of the Korean people for freedom. We, authors and the publishers of "disput" unify ourselves with these idea and we ask for the liberation of Kim Dae Jung, of all students and citizens of Kwangju and of all political prisoners!

Korean Atomic-Bomb Victims (1)

His Holiness Pope John Paul II will visit Japan on coming Feb. 23, the only atomic-bombed country in the world. According to the Japanese dailies, he is planning to pay homage to the memorial tower dedicated to atomic-bomb victims in Hiroshima. An appeal for peace is expected to be issued by the Pope in Hiroshima, which will touch upon the prohibition of nuclear weapons and disarmament.

With the words of "No more Hiroshima" and "No more Nagasaki," the anti-nuclear bomb movement has been continued on a world-wide scale by the peace activists in the world. The plight of the atomic-bomb victims got growing attention. However, the fact on Korean victims who were brought to this alien land in the colonial days and were bombed in Hiroshima and Nagasaki are not yet made known. And, their situation and treatment (including those who returned to south Korea) remain yet to be improved, too.

The People's Korea briefly introduced the Korean atomic-bomb victims . . . . Ed.

Origins of Korean Victims

The atomic bombing by the U.S. of Hiroshima (Aug. 6, 1945) and Nagasaki (Aug. 9, 1945) claimed as casualties not only among Japanese people but also among the Korean citizens there.

The number of the Korean atomic-bomb victims in both cities is estimated at about 80,000 (50,000 in Hiroshima and 30,000 in Nagasaki). Among them were the deceased numbered 40,000–60,000 (30,000–40,000 in Hiroshima and 10,000–20,000 in Nagasaki).

By that bombing, Koreans already suffered under the 36 years of colonial rule. Nevertheless, the Japanese government authorities refused to pay attention to the surviving Korean victims.

Different from the Japanese atomic-bomb victims, Korean victims are suffering from the double and treble pains.

The Korean victims of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki were among those who had been brought to Japan for forced labor, to make up for manpower shortage.

Since the annexation of Korea by Japan in 1910, a sharp increase was noted in the numbers of the Koreans taken to mainland Japan for forced labor or military service.

The Japanese deprived Koreans of their own lands under the name of "land surveys" as a mean of establishing colonial rule. Furthermore, high farm rents and other public charges mostly 50 – 90% of farm products, were imposed on the landless peasants.

So, many forced out of their native towns had to go to Manchuria, the South Pacific and Japan to eke out their livelihoods.

Koreans became a pool of cheap labor for the Japanese economy, during Japan's invasion of the Continental Asia and World War II, yet, this was not insufficient. Thus, the Japanese authorities began to draft forcibly a large number of Koreans for dangerous labor. Their work sites included military facilities, mines and construction sites where they worked 12 – 15 hours a day.

Since the promulgation of the "labor mobilization law" in 1939, hundreds of thousands of Koreans were conscripted for labor in Japan. During the period from Japan's 1910 annexation of Korea to 1945, the numbers of these Koreans reached 2,365,263 (according to a survey by the Japanese Ministry of Health and Welfare).

Hiroshima was an important military transport base to dispatch troops and military materials during the Japanese invasion of the Asian Continent (1894 – 1895, Sino-Japanese War). In 1903, a naval arsenal was built at Kure City, a neighboring port of Hiroshima, where many warships were built. On the other hand, a naval academy was established in Edajima, in which "special attack" units were trained later.

The area centering on Hiroshima was, in this way, was a huge military complex, which demanded much labor force. Therefore, many Korean laborers were mobilized to work at military facilities in and near Hiroshima, including the Mitsubishi navyship yard and a military clothing depot at Ujina.

As of December, 1944, there presumably lived 81,863 Koreans in Hiroshima Prefecture (former Japanese Ministry of Home Affairs). However, no precise official record is available of the numbers of the Koreans brought into this country. So, it is safe to say the actual numbers of Koreans far exceeded those officially announced by the Japanese authorities.

About 52,000 to 53,000 Koreans were supposed to have lived in Hiroshima City on the day when an atomic bomb was dropped on the city. Most of them were thought living within 4 – 4.5 km of the hypocenter. Most of them lived in a group and some lived individually.

There were Korean ghettos on the riversides of the Fukushima River, Fukushima-cho, Hiroshima City. At a domitory for drafting workers near Mitsubishi shipyard about 3,000 Koreans lived, according to one estimate.

At the time of the atomic-bombing, most of the Korean victims were engaged in transportation of timbers for military purposes, removal of evacuating buildings, stevedores, construction work, etc.

Korean females also worked at the clothing depot at Ujina or other small and medium factories. Among them were 10 – 13 years old girls.

Within 1.5 km from the hypocenter, many Koreans died due to the collapse of buildings by the bomb blast and heat rays.

The death ratio of the Koreans were high. According to the estimates of the Association of the Korean Victims of an Atomic Air Raid, 30,000 Korean atomic-bomb victims died among 50,000 Korean victims. It occupied ten percent of 202,000 deceased of the atomic-bomb victims in Hiroshima Prefecture. They lived in groups at rickety shack and most of them worked outdoors; and proper and prompt medical care was not given because of racial discrimination. Most of those who survived the bombing could not move out as they had not their relatives or acquaintance in the suburbs and were affected by secondary radiation through foods, water and the earth's surface.

Sim Bok Su (62 years old), who was bombed at Hiroshima and is still residing there said:

. . . . the house began to burn in flame. I frenziedly shouted my children's names. I found my boy's body burnt . . . . It was the very hell. I just only looked at my boy's body burning.

O Ul Hak (66 years old), bombed at Hiroshima, is now living in Hokkaido. Her back was burnt by the bomb blast and has keloids on her back. She said:

. . . . (after being bombed) I gave birth to a baby in Osaka. The baby had eruptions like a boat bug all over the body. When the eruptions were crushed, the baby's body was like that of the killed in the atomic bombing. After one week or 10 days, the baby died. During the four years (1946, 1947, 1949 . . .) my three babies were all dead in such a way.

Li Ki Sang (61 years old), who was bombed in Nagasaki and is now living there, said:

I was drafted when I was 17 years old and wandered from place to place. I was forced to work at a construction camp in Koyaki Island where the Kawanan Shipyard, a munitions factory, was located. Three days after the bombing I was moved to the gymnasium of school by a truck, which was a makeshift hospital. Heavily-injured atomic bomb victims were accommodated there. About 50–60 burnt people were found lying outside the gymnasium. They screamed for help in Korean. When I approached them, they said they had worked at the Mitsubishi ammunition factory. I went to the doctors and asked them to treat them. They just replied; " . . . What did *Namjoin* (the people of the Peninsula, a derogatory term for Koreans) say? " I could never forget that the Koreans were discriminated even by the doctors.

The Korean atomic-bomb victims suffered from fivefold agonies: 1) they were uprooted and ousted from their loved homeland; 2) they underwent persecution in this alien land; 3) they were directly bombed; 4) they are experiencing and agonizing after-effects of the atomic bombing; and 5) they are always feeling fear whether an atomic desease will appear in their descendant.

Furthermore, they receive racial discrimination from the Japanese authorities as far as treatment of atomic-bomb victims is concerned.

(To be continued)

Korean Paintings "Forest" By Kang Myong Ho

OLD TALE

Farm Hand Has Hire Paid

(Continued from the previous issue)

From the next day the landlord forced him to work together with his ox from early dawn till late at night. The lad worked like an ox. Work was exhausting.

The landlord drove out all other farm hands. But he prospered as days went by. The detached house was rebuilt into a curved-roofed one, his waste land was reclaimed, and his strongbox cram-full of money. But there was no end to his greed.

Time flew by and their hire contract was to expire in a few days. The landlord wanted to continue to exploit Jang Soe. So he called him in and said, "It's already nearly three years since you settled in this house. I think you will lead a hard, lonely life again after leaving here. This is why I advise you to remain here with us. What about it? And I'll find a good match for you . . . If you stay here another one year, I'll double the hire for three years. And treble it if you stay another three years."

The landlord said all honeyed words he could find to shake Jang Soe's mind. But, the lad flatly rejected, saying he would do nothing before he was paid for the three years.

At last came the expiring date of their hire contract. Jang Soe collected villagers early in the morning and in their presence he asked the landlord to pay his hire.

The landlord felt uneasy but collected himself, hemmed and said: "Do you mean it? ! For the last time I ask you. Won't you change your mind yet? You'd better reconsider it. I say, I've found a nice girl for your bride."

Jang Soe flatly rejected as a few days before. The landlord shot a furious eye at him and cried, "You rascal! Do you mean it? Then do as you like! You ingrate! Take my pay. Your land is those wormwood plots in the valley. Reclaim them by yourself. Perhaps they will take more than three days to plough. Have your own house by building it yourself with fifty trees cut in my wood! I did you cut only fifty. If any more, I will teach you a lesson. As for your ten som of rice, I know it, but you must pay 12 som to me because of your boarding with me for the three years plus the interest thereupon. In short, you own me two som of rice. Hem! "

Jang Soe was enraged at this but contained his anger and retorted "Hullo, let me ask you! The wormwood plots in the valley are fields in your eyes? Fifty trees standing in the wood are a house in your eyes? And ten som of rice! It is the remuneration for my three years' service. Why the deuce could I eat it up before receiving it? ! . . . Don't say nonsense! Pay for my service right away as you promised! Otherwise you shall repent of yourself. I'll carry away one load of anything I like! "

All present sided with Jang Soe.

Driven to a tight corner, the landlord growled, "Pick up one load of anything you like and away at once! "

Jang Soe brought a big A-frame (for carrying things) and a strong rope.

The landlord's sons and concubine were beside the landlord on the veranda. And villagers in the courtyard were straining their eyes with bated breath to see what Jang Soe was to take away. They thought, of course, he would carry away rice.

Quite contrary to their expectation, he went up to the veranda without a word, seized the two sons of the landlord and bound them

(Continued on page 7)

Korean Cultural History (37)

Li Dynasty of 17th-Mid-19th Centuries

(Continued from the previous issue)

The period from the Imjin Patriotic War (1592–1598, the war against Toyotomi Hideyoshi's invasion of Korea) to the mid-60s of the 19th century is defined as the closing days of the medieval period in Korean histoy.

Toyotomi Hideyoshi's invasion of Korea was countered by the heroic struggles of the Korean people, despite tremendous damage sustained by the country. The Korean people finally routed the Japanese invaders.

However, Korea was badly damaged by the barbarous acts of Japanese invaders and the failure of the feudalistic rulers of the Li dynasty to take proper measurers for recovery.

Many precious cultural assets were burnt, destroyed and plundered. Nevertheless, no positive measures were taken by the rulers for the recovery of the war-torn, land and bring stability to the people's living.

Development of Monetary Economy, Silhak Thought

In the 17th century the Li dynasty had to fight back the invasion of the Ching dynasty of China twice, that is in 1627 and 1636. From the latter half of the 17th century following the two big wars, signal progress was made in agriculture, handicraft and other fields of production thanks to the active and creative efforts of the people. The recovery and development of the productive forces activated commodity circulation and the use of coins.

Currency began to be used toward the end of the Koryo dynasty, which was paper money called "Chohwa". This was not used for a long time on a nation-wide scale.

Coins gradually superceded payments in kind, though it failed to fully replace the latter until the early 19th century. Coins were widely circulated in the markets of different areas and some taxes were collected in the form of hard currency. There arose a class of people who got rich through trade, beside engaging in the delivery of government goods. With the development of the commodity economy and the use of currency, capitalist elements grew in ore mining and some handicraft manufacture in the middle of the 18th century.

Aristocratic officials and landlords exploited peasants doubly and trebly through the money economy.

The development of the money economy and the feudalistic exploitation of farmers promoted the downfall of farmers, who abandoned farming and ultimately became wage-earners.

Reflecting these socio-economic developments, *Silhak* (practical science) came to be expounded by some progressive scholars of the aristocratic class. Among the representative *Silhak* scholars were Li Ik, Pak Ji Won, Hong Dae Yong, Pak Je Ga, and Chong Yak Yong.

While maintaining the scientifical attitude of seeking truth through the study of the realities, they attained many excellent achievements in various branches of learning.

Early in the 18th century, the feudal rulers made many attempts to bolster the tottering centralized feudal regime.

They followed the policy of utilizing factional strife among aristocrats for the maintenance of the system as a whole. The compilation of a number of books was undertaken in this period to bring feudal cultural activities back to the level of what they were in the 15th century and, to this end a series of measures were taken, including the government employment of *Silhak* scholars. A library named *Kyujanggak* was set up within the royal palace to enable Confucian scholars to use it as a center of classical learning and study and publish books.

In the beginning of the 19th century the government took measures for the so-called "emancipation of public servants" and made them commoners. It was the result of the long-drawn-out struggle of public servants and meant a crack in the public servant system and the feudal caste system in general. For all these measures, however, it was impossible for the feudal government to resolve any contradictions inherent in the extremely corrupt feudal system. The people were subjected to harsher expolitation as the years went by. Needless to say, in this period society made some progress, showing symptoms of development unseen in the previous society. But Korea had been mainly kept within the medieval frame work up to the middle of the 19th century.

Peasant uprisings began to accelerate the downfall of the Li dynasty in the 19th century. The peasant uprisings of Pyongan Province in 1811–1812 dealt an appalling blow at the feudalistic ruling circles and the *ryangban* aristocrats and landlords.

In the 19th century, the international situation became complex. Within the country, suppression and exploitation of the people were further strengthened.

Capitalist elements had been developing ever since the previous century to form an important class in the beginning of the 19th century, and together with this, Korea was advancing, though slowly, towards a new society.

These historical trends were reflected in the popular nature of cultural activities. Preconditions for a leap from feudal culture to a new modern one were being created.

Though suppressed by the ruling class, culture created and loved by the people held an important place in the culture of the period.

Very complex was the internal political situation of Korea, when it faced an imminent foreign invasion of capitalism in the latter half of the 19th century.

When young Kojon ascended the throne in 1863, his father, Li Ha Ung, who held real power, became the regent and called himself Taewongun. He followed the policy of seclusion on the excuse of strengthening the country's power. Thus his internal and external policies were aimed principally at maintaining and strengthening the old feudal order. His policy was reactionary and anachronistic in nature.

At that time, foreign forces were continuing their aggressive manoeuvers. In particular, the U.S., dispatching warships several times to the Korean waters, attempted to invade Korea.

In 1866, the U.S. armed pirate ship General Sherman intruded into the estuary of the Taedong River, but was sunk by the Korean people. The U.S. suffered a set back in its invasion. Similarly in 1871, too.

In these crucial days, the feudalistic rulers were busily engaged in factional strife. When the people were fighting courageously against the foreign invaders, the family of Queen Min who came to hold real political power in place of Taewongun in 1873, were engrossed in pursuing their own interests. Without any preparation, the family of Queen Min opened doors to foreign countries under threats and pressure from the foreign invaders.

The opening of ports in 1876 hastened the process by which Korea was turned into a semi-colonial, semi-feudal nature. The capitalist elements which had grown to a certain extent, before the opening of ports had to traverse a tortuous road in face of the flooding foreign goods and the foreign armed forces.

In the beginning of the 1860s, peasants staged mass struggles in various places of the country including Chinju (now South Kyongsang Province) and dealt a hard blow at the aristocratic class. The struggles against the U.S. and French invaders were continuously waged in 1866 and 1871 and after the conclusion of the Kanghwa treaty (an unequal treaty signed by the family of Queen Min and Japan at the points of Japanese bayonets), the heroic struggles were continued by peasants and other people against the Japanese invaders and the feudal rulers. (To be continued)

(Continued from page 6)

tightly with the rope. He also bound the concubine and his daughter who had just appeared on the scene. He laid them all on his A-frame like goods and stood up with the loaded A-frame on his back. He turned to the landlord and said, "Have a good look at these! These are what I take for my three years' service. I'm going to dump this load over the yonder cliff because it is useless to me".

Now the things on his back and the landlord who had been agape with surprise came to themselves and burst into cry, asking for help. But none pitied them.

Chong Do Chi who had worked for the landlord all his life, stepped forward and addressed the landlord in a flattering but sarcastic tone, "Listen to me, sir. It's no use crying over spilt milk. You'd better make a gift of your money-box to him and beg for mercy. Otherwise your family will ruin, with no scion". His words threw oil on the ado kicked up by the landlord's dependents. They made a hue and cry asking the landlord to accept his advice. The landlord, quite upset, ran into his room to fetch the money-box. He scurried back with it and imploringly uttered, "My dear Jang Soe! Take this money-box and put down the A-frame! "

Without a word Jang Soe put down the A-frame and received the money-box which he crushed at one stroke of his fist. The box was filled with money hoarded by the landlord for tens of years and landbooks and bills. Jang Soe put out the landbooks and bills and set fire to them. Villagers shed tears of joy, seeing them on fire, the abominable documents which had tormented them all their life. Then he gave out all the money equally to villagers. He also gave his ox to Chong Do Chi. He left the village. All the villagers saw him off at the village mouth until he receded into the distance. (Concluded)

NEWS DISPATCH FROM PYONGYANG

Jan. 10
- A trade agreement between the governments of the DPRK and the Republic of Tunisia was signed in Tunis.

Jan. 13
- The Korea-Zaire Friendship Association was inaugurated in Pyongyang.

Jan. 14
- U Ne Win, President of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma met Li Jong Ok, Premier of the Administration Council of the DPRK.

Jan. 15
- President of the Republic of Burundi Jean-Aiste Bagaza met Sin Byong Chol, DPRK ambassador to his country. Expressing firm solidarity with the Korean people's righteous struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country and satisfaction with the excellent development of friendly and cooperative relations between Burundi and Korea, the Burundi president supported the new national reunification proposal put forward by President Kim Il Sung.

Jan. 16
- A trade agreement between the governments of the DPRK and the United Republic of Cameroon was signed in Yaounde.

Jan. 19
- The 1981–1982 plan for cooperation in the fields of public health and medical science between the Ministry of Public Health of the DPRK and the Ministry of Public Health of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic was signed in Pyongyang.

Jan. 20
- The delegation of the WPK headed by Kim Yong Nam, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary, of the CC of the WPK, arrived in Lima by plane for a visit to Peru at the invitation of the Popular Action Party of Peru. (KCNA)

SHORT NEWS FROM SEOUL

Jan. 4
- Ri Sung Yun, minister of finance announced that measures taken to lower the export interest rate from 15% to 12% until the end of 1980, would be continued this year, too. The monetary and currency committee also decided to continue the temporary rediscount rate for export, which was scheduled to be terminated at the end of 1980, until June this year.

Jan. 5
- The "ministry of foreign affairs" announced that south Korea had established ambassadorial level diplomatic relations with Libya.
- Prime minister, Nam Dok U sent letters to ministers and leaders of organisations and presidents of government-run corporations to strengthen measures to prevent groundless rumors from spreading.
- According to a survey by the Korea development inst it ute, the number of women employees is increasing year by year. Their percentage reached 38.5% last year.

Jan. 6
- The "ministry of agriculture" announced that last year's rice production was less than the average output by about 10 million *sok* and that the amount of rice imported from foreign countries reached 330,000 *sok*.
- In the Unsong mining in Mungyong county, North Kyongsang Province, nine miners were killed in a cave-in.

Jan. 10
- The martial law command issued proclamation No. 16, lifting the ban on outdoor meetings for political activity and for presidential election as from Jan. 12.

Jan. 11
- The "ministry of culture and information" announced that KBS (Korea Broadcasting Society) bought 65% of the stocks of MBC and Kyonghyang Sinmun to nationalise the broadcasting system.

Jan. 15
- The Democratic Justice Party held a party founding meeting in Seoul and elected Chon Du Hwan as its top leader and nominated him as candidate in the coming presidential election.
- The "government" decided to institute "circuit prosecution offices" in fishing and mountain villages. Such prosecution offices so far functioned only in Pusan city.
- The government introduced facsimile transmission systems connecting local prosecution offices with the headquaters (central prosecution office.)

Jan. 16
- According to a report of the Central Bank, south Koreans living in cities owe about 774,000 won on an average household, equal to 15 months' salary of workers who earn about 50,000 won per month. 80.3% of the debts are borrowed from loan sharks.
- The value of the won was devalued, 36.3% to the dollar, 46.3% to the pound and 61.2% to the yen. The amount of total liabilities of south Korea reached 500 billion to 600 billion won.
- According to a report by the "ministry of home affairs" the government is planning to increase the police force by 10,000, following an increase of 3,925 in 1980. The police force is planned to engage in trafic regulation and duties in large cities.
- According to data released by the Korea Chamber of Commerce, 49.4% of the workers engaging in the metal heavy industry receive less than 100,000 won (7,000 yen), only one-fourth of minimum living cost of workers with five family members.
- According to a report, made public by the "Emergency Conference of Christians on the Korean Question" and others, Chong Dong Nyon, Chonnam Univ. student who was sentenced to death by the appellate military court denied the charges that he had received 5 million won from Kim Dae Jung in connection with the Kwangju people's uprising.
- The south Korean authorities announced that they are planning to change industrial trade union into enterprise-based ones and to ban interference of third persons in labor disputes.
- According to a newspaper report, general hospitals in Seoul city are illegally collecting 50% or more special treatment fees from patients. It is common knowledge that patients pay about 57,000–74,000 won beside regular fees in case of an operation.

Jan. 17
- The "government" amended regulations relating to emigrants to promote emigration of about 850,000 farmers.
- The "government" is planning to increase prison and prosecution officers by 3,400, about 50% of the total number of officers the government is planning to employ this year.
- About 200 students of Seoul Education University were unable to pay registration fees in the new year term. In Yonse Univ. about 700 students were also under the same condition. As a result, about 30% of the students of these universities are expected to be expelled.
- The Democratic Korea Party held a party founding meeting and elected Ryu Chi Song as presidential candidate in the coming election.

Jan. 19
- The Chon Du Hwan regime cooked up a "spy" incident, charging 15 Koreans from Japan with being "spies" working for the north.

Unchanged Authoritarian Rule: Asahi Shimbun

The lifting of martial law has not brought any softening of the authoritarian administration in south Korea, Tokyo's leading warmaster daily The Asahi Shimbun wrote on Jan. 25.
Follows the full text of the Asahi story, entitled, "Unchanged Authoritarian Rule; Nominal Lifting of Martial Law; Demonstrations and Press Restricted under New Laws":

Commuting the sentences imposed on Mr. Kim Dae Jung, former Opposition presidential candidate, and other codefendants in a bid to improve ties with the allies, the south Korean regime of Chon Doo Hwan lifted 15-month martial law at midnight hours Jan. 25. The Chon regime is continuing with the face-lifting operation with an American-south Korean summit slated for Feb. 2. A fact of life is that an institution to replace martial law is already in place, with the present authoritarian regime left intact.

On effectuating the new Constitution on Oct. 27 last year, the Chon regime dissolved the National Assembly and installed in its place the Legislative Assembly for National Security whose 82 members were named for making laws. This legislative assembly was primarily charged with working out a framework for the "Fifth Republic" of south Korea to be founded in the first half of this year. The legislative assembly made a series of laws to curb student demonstrations and the press, thereby measuring up to the expectations of the Chon regime.

The first legislation produced by the legislative assembly was an amendment to the "Law on Assembly and Demonstration," aimed at restricting the assemblies and demonstrations (approved at the end of last November).

This law, expanding the concept of a demonstration from a street action to cover outdoor demonstrations as a whole, has a new stipulation prohibiting "a demonstration or an assembly which likely will violate prohibiting "an assembly or a demonstration which is feared to violate a law concerning the maintenance of public welfare and order" or "a demonstration or an assembly feared certain to cause social unrest." The law is rather preventive in nature as it provides for punishment of a preparation for or a conspiracy of such demonstration or assembly and its advance publicity.

With the experience of the Kwangju incident of last May in mind, this law is chiefly intended to repress in advance any student demonstration. Any offender of the law faces imprisonment of not more than seven years or a fine of three million won, while the previous law provided for not more than five years in prison or a fine of 100,000 won. A police officer is granted free access to any indoor assembly, though the old law permitted police access only to an outdoor assembly.

The next legislation, produced at the beginning of December, was "the Public Custody Law." This law provides for the isolation and detention in an institution of those former convicts who are feared likely to commit offense again the introduction of "preventive detention."

As a measure to deal with the press, "the Law on Press Facility" (the Fundamental Law on the Press), put into effect on Jan. 1, stresses "the public responsibility of the press" and stipulates, "the press shall not encourage or praise an act of violence or any other illegal act disturbing public peace." Any violator of this stipulation is subject to the revocation of registration as a press organ or suspension of publication for not more than one year. This strict curb placed on the scope of reporting makes it virtually impossible for the mass media to report on any anti-government demonstration.

When it comes to the reporting of "illegal contents," both the reporter and his company are punished. Journalistic qualifications are subject to legal scrutiny. In short, "Those who are former offenders of anti-state acts" or "repeaters" as defined under the Public Security Law and the new Public Custody Law are not qualified to work with any mass media for a prescribed period. Journalists are given "status equal to that of a government employee."

The Korean Central Intelligence Agency notorious for its abduction of Mr. Kim Dae Jung and others changed its name to the Agency for National Security Planning (NSP) on Jan. 1. With all its minor changes, the primary jobs of the KCIA like gathering intelligence, domestic and international and domestic security intelligence (the communist movement and the subversion of the government) remain unaffected. The Anti-Communist Law was abolished at the end of last December. Its contents were whole absorbed by the National Security Law which provided legal basis for the death sentence on Mr. Kim Dae Jung. Strong view is that the abolition of the Anti-Communist Law is a mere "streamlining of the legal systems."

'We Cannot Sit at One Place with Murderers': Pyongyang

Rodong Sinmun January 21 in an article headlined "We Cannot Sit at One Place with Murderer" supporting the statement Mr. Kim Il, Chairman of the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland, made public on January 19 in connection with the fact that Chon Du Hwan has brought forward such an absurd problem as "mutual visits of the supreme chiefs of the north and south Korean authorities."

The statement made it clear that Chon Du Hwan, illegal "president" recognized by no one of the south Korean people and murderer, cannot be a party to a sacred dialogue with us for reunification.

Recalling that Chon Du Hwan has all along viciously pursued the line of anti-communist confrontation, crying that "there is only confrontation with the north and peaceful reunification must not be thought about," the article said: The "proposal" of this puppet and traitor is a trick.

It is nonsensical that the puppets advertise the problem of the contacts between the supreme chiefs as a "new" and "epochal" one.

As for the problem of contacts at the highest level between the north and south, it was proposed already by our side at a meeting of the north-south co-ordinating commission held in Seoul towards the close of November 1972, and on various other occasions.

Exposing how traitor Chon Du Hwan seated himself in the "presidential chair", the article said:

The course of his usurpation of "power" was a record of most despicable political strategem intrigues, arbitrariness, swindle and fraud, threat and intimidation and bribery.

Traitor Chon Du Hwan is a murderer and strangler of democracy camouflaging himself with the "presidential" toga.

After the October 26 incident this puppet and traitor ran wild in trampling down a sprout of democracy and attacking and destroying the democratic forces in south Korea. He committed fascist atrocities in agesting and imprisoning at random and penalyzing en masse partiotic people of all strata, students and democratic personages who rose in a just struggle against fascism and for democracy and brutally put down the Kwangju popular uprising and plunged the city into a sea of blood.

He arrested and detained, brutally tortured democratic figure Kim Dae Jung who had committed no crime, transferred him to a murderous trial on faked-up charges for the mere reason that this democrat is his political adversary and is desperately trying to execute him at any cost.

This traitor is a butcher of the nation who appeared as "president" on the corpses of fellow countrymen.

Noting that Chon Du Hwan has committed countless treacherous acts in a year or so to usurp "power," the article continued:

He raved that he would as ever put "stress" on friendly relations with the United States and Japan and develop them into "relations of companion" and is begging for the U.S. troop's permanent occupation of south Korea and strengthening the military fusion with the Japanese authorities. In acting so he is dreaming of long-term office under the wings of foreign forces of aggression by offering south Korea to them as a permanent colony and military base and perpetuating the territorial division.

We definitely declare that we cannot have a dialogue over the reunification problem with Chon Du Hwan, an illegal selfstyled "president," murderous rogue who drenched the ccuntry with the blood of fellow countrymen and traitor who is leaving the destiny of the nation to the tender mercies of foreign forces.

Kim Dae Jung on Democracy, Christianity & Reunification

Follow excerpts from speeches made by democratic dissident Kim Dae Jung who was sentenced to life imprisonment on charges of fabricated crimes, between 1971 and 1980:

Kim Dae Jung

LIVE WITH HISTORY, STAND ON SIDE OF PEOPLE, RESPECT HUMAN RIGHTS

I have three political principles of my own.

The first one is to live together with history. I have no intention to lead my life apart from history.

The second is to stand on the side of the popular masses. Under whatever circumstances, I stand by the side of masses of people.

The third is to respect human rights. Any state, any government and any national unity are for human rights. No state or no government is necessary if it does not guarantee human rights.

These three can be best served by democracy.

(Memoirs in The Asahi Shimbun Dec. 30, 1977 issue)

He who has usurped a regime with bayonets does rule with bayonets. This course is entirely different from what I want to take. Even if we cannot attain our goal in our generation, it won't be bad to take time. **(ditto)**

We must not make again the same mistakes as both presidents Syngman Rhee and Pak Jung Hi did.

A president who, fearful of the judgment of the history, accepts the voices of the people as the God's is the president whom we want today when the trend is toward the restoration of democracy.

(Speech made at the Kwanhung Club, Apr. 25, 1980)

In a word, the present *yusin* system is neither for reunification nor for security nor for anti-communism. It is only for the permanent seizure of power by Pak Jung Hi. The *yusin* constitution is one of means of perpetuating his power and its contents are completely designed to satisfy his demand. This is as clear as day.

(Minjok Sibo, Nov. 11, 1977)

INDEPENDENCE, DEMOCRACY, PEACE: PRINCIPLES FOR REUNIFICATION

What is basic to my struggle for north-south reunification is "to achieve freedom-guaranteeing reunification in a democratic way." In short, reunification should be on the basis of the three principles of "independence", "democracy" and "peace." **July 13, 1977**

(Kim Dae Jung's writings *The Dictatorship and My Struggle*)

Only democracy is the most effective guarantee of national security and leads us to reunification.

The first step to north-south reunification is coexistent reunification. We neither can permit ourselves to be communized nor should we try to change the system in the north. South Korea can demand a reunification as equally coexistent with the north only when she has brought about democracy.

(Memoir in The Asahi Shimbun Dec. 30, 1977 issue)

We will advance toward reunification as a national desire. The reunification issue should be settled in a spirit of sincere rapproachement. Approach to the national desire of reunification should be initiated by the masses to participate in and give their own ideas about it. Our struggle against the dictatorship and for democracy represents the national will to bring about reunification.

(The Declaration for Democratic Nation, July 10, 1978)

The way to solve the problem of Korea's reunification should not be interrupted by anyone else and there is no reason for such intervention. Unified Germany can be a menace to the European countries, but a unified Korea won't be. Reunification of Korea surely will not bring a threat to Asia.

(The Dictatorship and My Struggle)

Korea was divided by the foreign forces. These foreign forces have responsibility for the Korean division. This is a reason for them to work together for Korea's reunification, but no reason to obstruct it. **(ditto)**

US, JAPANESE ROLE SECONDARY IN IMPORTANCE

I attach importance to the role of the U.S. and Japan. But their role is secondary in importance to ours. Democracy is to be achieved as a result of the demand and responsibility of our people themselves. No one else can bring it to us.

(Interview at the Kwanhung Club, Apr. 25, 1980)

Japanese history of recent 100 years fully shows its people's consciousness as a leader, a ruler and a selected nation of Asian nations. This spiritual attitude remains not changed completely even today.

If today, Japan does not try to make new friendship with other Asian countries from the viewpoint of equality, with respect for them, of finding the values and good points of other Asian nations, Japan won't be able to make a real friend wherever in the world and it would be isolated and found itself uncomfortable.

(The Dictatorship and My Struggle)

REAL CHRISTIANITY WILL BE BORN IN S. KOREA

I have been a Roman Catholic for 20 years. However I've never expressed deeper gratitude to God like I did in prison for these 10 months, feeling great pleasure being a Catholic. I've never prayed to God so much and spoken with him every day. I thank for God who led me to prison. I am where I should be because of my experience and conscience. I am sick now. Recently I take medicine three or four times a night. However, my heart is full of the joy of liberation.

I am now reading in prison "Study of History" of Toynbee. He writes that God gives pains and makes us grow, lessening these pains by ourselves. He takes Goethe's "Faust" as an instance. I found God's act in our present difficulties in south Korea. Our democratic people are growing in the suppression. As a result of investigation, pasters and fathers were sent to prison and became friends there and churches are united. Our country's churches are helped by foreign churches in the 200 year Catholic history and the 100-year Protestant history. However, with the struggle symbolized by the March 1 Statement for Democratic National Salvation, south Korean churches became one which could not be omitted when the world churches consider the new Catholic of the future. I believe that in the not distant future, the real Christianity of Jesus Christ, which is for the oppressed people, will be born in south Korea.

God resurrected me several times.

(Minjok Sibo, Nov. 11, 1977)

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